1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 droughts and unseasonable heavy rains fall upon valuable, and vulnerable,
241 field crops. Moreover, the cultivators of the Uplands are characteristically small farmers without large financial resources, so that the social repercussions of bad weather in this area may be marked.

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[241] Wild Vegetation. Wild vegetation is a significant element in the landscape and an important resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo. In 13 of the 21 municipios of the region, over 10 per cent of the total area, in 1940, was in mata, or forest, which was used as an agricultural resource.[31] In the southwestern third of the Recôncavo as the accompanying map indicates (Map 14), almost one-fifth of the total area was in this "exploited mata." It is inferred, through the addition of "unused and non-productive" land to the "exploited mata," that well over one-half of the total area of the Recôncavo was in wild vegetation.

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192 In east-central Bahia three terms are used both colloqiually and professionally to designate the wild vegetation: (1) Mata is used generally to refer to the littoral evergreen forest of the Brazilian east coast. (2) Caatinga refers to the semi-deciduous scrub-forest of the northeastern Brazilian interior. (3) Agreste designates the transitional forest, intermediate in structure and position between the mata and the caatinga.[32]

137 Vegetation Types. The narrow coastal plain of eastern Brazil, from the Rio Paraíba--in eastern Rio de Janeiro state--to central Bahia, bears a heavy evergreen forest or selva.[33] The northern end of this forest belt is the Baía de Todos os Santos. Although the trees are lower and the species somewhat less diverse than in northern Brazil, the littoral forests of the Recôncavo and the Bahian coast farther south are a characteristic variation of the "tropical rain forest."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 25 mm. The upper limit is less definite; humidity as well as rainfall is an important factor in determining the danger of molding. In the sugar cane area, in addition to September rainfall, the precipitation retained from the months preceding September is clearly a factor in soil moisture at harvest time and is thus related to the sugar content and the difficulties of harvesting.

30 The specific harvest requirements of the crop and the debts of the small farmer combine to force the harvesting and processing--no matter how unfavorable the precipitation.

[113] 31 Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Mata as used in the census classification signifies forest in general, and perhaps also savanna. Mata, except in this specific discussion of the utilization of wild vegetation, will be used throughout the study to refer only to the littoral forest.

[127] 32 The map of wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is derived from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, of the Instituto Agronômico Leste. The descriptions of the three vegetation types are based upon his classification, but have been expanded and interpreted on the basis of field observations of this study.

[113] 33 Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1952), pp. 413, 439.

[192] 34 Sertão is not strictly a vegetation type, for this term is applied also to all that part of the northeastern interior which is sparsely settled and under-developed, even where scrub-forest is not characteristic. In Bahia, however, caatinga and sertão are often used interchangeably to designate both the scrub-forest vegetation and the general area where the scrub-forest is dominant.

35 Several vegetation maps show an area of tropical savanna as a continuous belt, parallel to the coast of Bahia, in such a position that it should cross the Recôncavo. For example, James, op. cit., p. 413, map 81, "Northeast Brazil Natural Vegetation." This would raise the question of the utilization of these grasslands. However, savanna (campo cerrado) was not observed in the course of the field investigation in the Recôncavo, nor did the botanists or agronomists who were interviewed identify any local vegetation as campo cerrado. A grassland area of very limited size was observed in the northern part of the município of Salvador, on extremely sandy soil, but steppe rather than savanna seemed the appropriate term for this almost treeless enclave. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo trees rather than grasses dominate the uncultivated landscape, and the term savanna seems inappropriate.

36 For a listing of the municípios in each sub-region see Appendix A.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations.
Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related
127 128 statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures
241 which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

241 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops
433 are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern
241 is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed
433 below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation
192 in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Coconut (Côco)	876	"

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168 hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61 "
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46 "
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44 "
Cotton (Algodão)	40 "
Onions (Cebola)	14 "
Garlic (Alho)	5 "
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4 "

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On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

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African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

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The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

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Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil.
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Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class.
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Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECONCAVO

[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted.

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação.

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings.

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

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The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

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The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

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192 santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem santo) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults,
787 cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to
776 "make their saint," they continue for many years in the halfway condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expenditure. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

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794 The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have
533 danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which
[465] is presented to the drummers for having played so well for
[776] them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives participate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

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In the Recôncavo three race stocks are recognized: the white, the Negro and the Indian. A white is called a *branco*. The term *negro* is rarely used to denote a person of African descent. Rather such a person is called *homem de côr* (man of colour). *Negro* is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but is almost never used to single out an individual. *Nego* (a softened variation of the word *negro*) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and sometimes as a nickname. When the *bahiano* of the Recôncavo speaks of *índio*, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says *caboclo*.

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Yet even the whites are sub-classified, being divided into two categories, the *louro* (blond) and the *moreno* (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, but one which is used only by those who are considered 'pure' white—namely, *branco da terra*. A *branco da terra* is someone who is phenotypically white—that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid: fair skin, fine features and 'good' (meaning *straight*) hair—but whose ancestry had Negro blood. He or she is generally *moreno*, and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The *branco da terra* sometimes also shows traces of *caboclo* blood as well as of Negro and white blood. In Vila Recôncavo, the 'pure' white man may refer to such a person as a *branco da terra*, but ordinarily will call him or her a *branco*. To the majority of the population, the *branco da terra* is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a *branco da terra* to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as a white by both whites and non-whites, and there is no constraint on anyone's part.

In classifying people, if skin colour is an important factor, hair form is equally important. If there is any question as to what to call a person, the hair is generally the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly into the following types in terms of these various criteria:

1. The *preto* or *preto retinto* (black) has black shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips and a flat, broad nose. The *pretos* distinguish among themselves, and will rank themselves according to minute differences in 'quality' of skin colour, nose form, etc. The *preto* with the most '*qualidade*' is the farthest from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet still a black. He is a 'prettier' black.
2. The *cabra* (male) and *cabrocha* (female) are generally slightly lighter than the *preto*, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose.

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'The *cabra* and *cabrocha* generally lack the definite features and shine of the *preto*.

3. The *cabo verde* is slightly lighter than the *preto*, but still very dark. The *cabo verde*, however, has long straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow straight nose. He is almost a 'black white man'.
4. The *escuro*, or simply 'dark man', is darker than the usual run of *mestiços*, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The *escuro* is almost a Negro with Caucasoid features. He generally has *qualidade*. *Escuro* is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.
5. The *mulato* is a category always divided into two types, the *mulato escuro* and *mulato claro* (dark and light mulattoes). The *mulato* has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl and even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The *mulato's* facial features vary widely; thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice-versa. As a rule, the features are thicker than the *branco's* and thinner than the *preto's*. The *mulato* is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin colour, which is more accentuated than that of the *branco da terra*. His skin colour varies from very light to very dark. A *mulato claro*, with straightened hair, thin lips and a 'good' nose is very much like the *branco da terra*.
6. *Pardo* is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a *mulato claro*. Occasionally *mestiço* children are described as *pardo*, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called *parda* by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a *branco da terra*. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a *parda*, because she knows that 'her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a *mulata clara*'.
7. The *sarará* is not difficult to distinguish. He has very light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His hair is described as *duro*, or hard. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the *mulato's*. There are *sararás* who would 'pass' for white in the United States, but more often the *sarará* has a curious appearance; skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo, the *sarará* is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to see a person of this physical type without a good sun-tan and bleached hair.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem morenino* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

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A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element —that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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confusion over terms, particularly those whose form is identical but whose meaning varies in the two situations. So powerful is the grip of habit over the mind that the connotation of a word in our own culture tends automatically to be carried over into our thinking about an apparent referent elsewhere, even though we may be aware of the difference in meaning. This is particularly true of the general public; but it is also true to some extent of specialists and occurs even in spite of their normal caution.

The simple use of the term "Negro," for instance, when describing the Bahian racial situation, automatically conveys to many persons United States meanings from which it is difficult to escape (cf. E. Franklin Frazier 1942:465). Moreover, the unwarranted assumption on the part of those who use the English language, or who are familiar with it, that the Brazilian term "prêto" can be translated by "Negro," and "branco" by "white," adds to the confusion.

These terms are not interchangeable. In the United States "white" means "of undiluted Caucasian descent"; but in Brazil "branco" can mean "a predominantly white person, no matter what his racial origin," including thousands of light mixed-bloods and, in the case of prestige-bearing individuals, darker mixed-bloods and even an occasional black; or it can mean, at times, merely "a person of prestige" or simply "my friend." On the other hand, "Negro" in the United States means "anyone descended in any degree from an African, *including all mixed-bloods*" (provided origin is known); while "prêto" in Brazil may mean "a person with noticeably Negroid traits" or, at times, merely "a person of low status"[4] or simply "a personal enemy."

[4] Particularly revealing in this respect is an incident witnessed in Sergipe by Felte Bezerra (1950:252). On the beach at a seaside town a

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SLI

"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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first sight appears to be racial terms. "It is not simply a matter of black and white," Harry W. Hutchinson (1957: 120) has observed, "but of all the shades in between." In 1935, without making any particular effort, we set down at Bahia twenty terms being used to describe the different "colors" (135–40 and elsewhere in this book); and, in 1951, Thales de Azevedo (1955a:25–32) recorded a considerable number being used at that time in Bahia. In 1951 also, Hutchinson (1963) noted, according to our calculation, twenty-one of these terms in the old plantation area near the city; Marvin Harris (1963) recorded nine at Minas Velhas, also in the Bahian interior; and Ben Zimmerman (1963), fifteen at Monte Serrat in another part of the State. More recently after setting out to track down all such terms, Harris and Kottak (203n) reported thirty-nine (according to our reckoning) in common use at the fishing village of Arembepe on the Bahian coast. Manuel Diégues Júnior (1956:74–76) mentions twenty-four terms employed for mixed-bloods, alone, in various parts of Brazil, only five of which are referred to by any of these investigators.

To refer, then, to persons of African descent in Brazil as "Negroes," as some investigators from the United States and also some writers in Brazil tend to do, distorts the "picture"; and to refer to the vast range of Negro-European mixed-bloods as "mulattoes," as some of these writers also do, is equally an erroneous procedure. At the same time, this series of terms is highly significant for an analysis of the Brazilian racial situation, particularly in indicating some of its differences from those in South Africa and the United States.

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* BB 121 563

What, then, is the meaning, as far as actual behavior is concerned, of this extensive series of what appears to be

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *manceba*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *comboso*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 tween the races, serving at once as a symbol and as a means of white-Negro union. When, as often happens, marriage occurs between a *branco* and a *morena* some of whose ancestors were Africans, the resulting offspring obviously make it more difficult for white fathers to consider African blood prejudicial—an attitude intensified in the new generation, which actually possesses some African blood.

[125]

TABLE 7

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED WOMEN CLASSIFIED AS *Morenas* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1936

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	131	26 2
Mulattoes	308	61 6
White-Indian mixed-bloods	28	5 6
Negro-Indian mixed-bloods	15	3 0
Negro-White-Indian mixed-bloods	18	3 6
Total	500	100 0

563
192 The term "Negro" is seldom heard in Bahia. It is a *palavra pesada*, a harsh, even offensive, term. Its actual meaning is "African," i.e., "foreigner." In this respect it is a term somewhat similar to "Wop," "Dago," "Sheeny," "Greaser." It also implies slave status and hence calls up memories of the harsher aspects of slavery of which the blacks do not like to talk and the whites are ashamed. Its use is therefore "not good form," and one hears it ordinarily employed only in anger, as an epithet. If otherwise used, it must be "with a smile." *Mulato* is coming to have a somewhat similar connotation, and, as a white Bahian put it, "the better people are beginning to use *moreno* instead."

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At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[16] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

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The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

[16] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*.

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morena, de côr branca, de côr parda, de côr preta, mestiço ("mixed-blood"), and *moleque*.[17]

In the Bahian interior four categories are in common use: *branco, moreno, roxo* ("purple"),[18] and *preto*. *Pardo, mulato*, and *negro* are seldom employed. Occasionally, *curiboca* is used in referring to a cross between a *preto* and an Indian.

Indicative of the (as yet) somewhat indeterminate character of these categories are the variations in meaning which several of these terms seem to have for different individuals. For example, *moreno*, an upper-class lady of European descent said, "might for all practical purposes be considered as identical with *branco*," an opinion concurred in by numerous other individuals from the upper class. But a lower-class *preto* thought of *moreno* as "almost identical with *pardo*"; a lower-class *parda* considered a *moreno* more negroid than a *pardo;* while other individuals made a distinction between two classes of *morenos: morenos claros* ("light *morenos*"), and *morenos escuros* ("dark *morenos*").

* 563 826

In classifying a given individual, hair texture is much more important than color of skin. One often hears in Bahia the expression, "Ele é um pouco escuro, mas o cabello é bom" ("He is a bit dark, but his hair is good").

[17] Also spelled *muleque*. The word is of African origin and was originally used to refer, as we have seen, to a small Negro boy. It is now occasionally employed in Bahia, without regard to color, in the sense of "street urchin."

[18] The purple tinge of the skin of black individuals under the bright rays of the tropical sun is probably responsible for this expression.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mixture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one single people."

Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Distinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate personal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia. To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

563 * 565 [578] [192]

Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

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As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

563 * 829

Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?'" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tive case escape identification with a group into which he has been born, not only so far as race is concerned but even to some extent color as well, and if there is little attempt on the part of other persons to treat him differently merely because some of his ancestors were of different ethnic origin, "we-group" and "others-group" will delay in arising as objects in his experience; or, having arisen, will tend to be vague and inchoate entities, not vivid, clear cut, and sharply defined.

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Few colored intellectuals in Bahia are at all interested in studying and writing about the Negro; and, of those who are, such as the *preto* João da Silva Campos and the *pardos* Edison Carneiro and João Varella, their interest lies rather in the *Africano*, in his customs and traditions, and especially in those survivals of African culture still extant among descendants of imported slaves.

* 563 • 192 829

There is no tendency to dignify the term "Negro" as there is among race-conscious Negroes in the United States. In fact, as we have already seen, "Negro" is a term rarely used either by blacks or by whites. When on occasion it is employed, no Bahian colored man, unless by chance he has been in the United States or in communication with American Negroes, is at all concerned about spelling it with a capital *N*. Nor does he resent the word *ama* ("mammy").

* 563 829

This is not to say, however, that the blacks and the mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot and that they utter no protest against the fate which has made the white man largely superordinate both economically and socially. On the contrary, the lower-class Negro often conceives of himself as mistreated and misunderstood.

There are, in this respect, two classes of blacks in Bahia: (1) those who are aware of, and articulate about, the race

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those languages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However, the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdì-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô. Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

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Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

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1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

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From its founding under the official name of Cidade do Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

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It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation

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of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113]

4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192] common

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 827 829 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

[SALVADOR]

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829 The
563 mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
565 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
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2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).
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when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.
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[SALVADOR]

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Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physical characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin, "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Sometimes the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 563 829 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often designated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term applied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen, the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or róxos. A young girl showing few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

[196]

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

*563 829 •192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or

*563 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

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•192 may not be of African blood (3).
[113]

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and
fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the
contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
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The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
•192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

[113]

1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

/15 cont./
829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
• [192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sararâ. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 *563 [113] white countries (1).

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 *563 537 157 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition. The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

• [192] [826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 *563 157 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 *563 157 opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution, is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

[113]

4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you," "this métis who gives you his support"; but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

• [192]

5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

829 *563 /28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

[SALVADOR]

/34 cont./

*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The newspapers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

*563 565 204

*563 565

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

[564]

• [192] [567] [342]

1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

*563 565 571 [204]

[SALVADOR]

/55 cont./

178 * 563 666 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at political adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

• [192]

1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

* 563 555 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of [646] the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

[SALVADOR]

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*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

•[192] [567]

2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."

*563 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

*563 873 178

[SALVADOR]

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*563 873 571 regard to this, one mulatto asserts that the black students are mistreated by their white comrades on the occasion of the trote inflicted on the calouros by the veterans (1);

• [192]

1. Trote = jokes and humorous ceremonies with which the older students, the veterans, receive into the schools of the university those newly admitted, or calouros.

two persons practicing a liberal profession and with very pronounced Negroid features asserted exactly the opposite. The esteem of black and mulatto students for their comrades, and the attentions of which they are the object when they show themselves gifted and industrious, are also proof of the harmony of which we have spoken. At the time of the distribution of diplomas, students of all types are mixed together without distinction and embrace one another as a sign of rejoicing; likewise, in the large pictures showing the portraits of the recipients with the insignia of each discipline, the latter are grouped according to the State from which they come (the University of Bahia includes students from different regions of Brazil), but never according to their physical type. The relations between students and professors are likewise good, the "quality" of one or the other influences their relations only in an altogether exceptional way. There were formerly, in the years that followed the abolition of slavery, university professors who were opposed to the entrance of black students in their faculties and who would have liked to prevent them from attending their courses. Such an attitude was sometimes manifest and it did happen that it obtained the tacit support of certain persons; but it was disapproved of /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /81/ on the whole. Only one informant asserted that in the faculty he attended the colored students did not enjoy the same facilities as the Whites. Nevertheless the prize that one of the faculties offers annually to the student who has completed the courses with a total of the highest marks has often been won by young colored people. Black and mulatto

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]